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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a study done at the University of Texas at San Antonio to examine the extent of compoundness or coordinateness with respect to the language use of Spanish-English speaking bilinguals in the Southwest. The long-range purpose was to delve into the more theoretical issue of the kinds of bilingual functioning. The discussion is divided into the following sections: (1) the compound-coordinate dimension--the history of the study of this concept and the difficulty of defining the distinction between compound bilinguals and coordinate bilinguals; (2) acquisitional and societal patterns--how the place and manner of the acquisition of the two languages affects the degree of compoundness or coordinateness; and (3) description and analysis of the data--the subjects, the instruments used, and the results, which are summarized in tables appended to the report. The experiment suggests that: (1) UTSA Chicanos fall, by and large, into the category of compound bilinguals, (2) their compoundness is a result of a fairly high degree of acculturation into the dominant society, and (3) the diglossic behavior of the older generation is in the process of changing into a more random-bilingual one in the younger generation. (Author/TL)

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# SEMANTIC COMPOUNDING IN THE SPEECH OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN BILINGUALS: A REEXAMINATION OF THE COMPOUND-COORDINATE DISTINCTION

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0. In the attempt of accounting for different degrees of lexico-semantic convergence, Uriel Weinreich, and Lev Scerba before him, proposed the notions "coordinate bilingualism" and "compound bilingualism" in order to identify two different sets of behavior with respect to the language use of speakers proficient in two languages. Discussions on this topic have been appearing in the professional literature for over 2 decades although they subsided somewhat during the last five years. A recent, still unpublished version on the same topic, however, has recently come to my attention and this fact seems to indicate that the issue is still very much in the minds of present-day scholars. Douglas Shaffer (1974) finds the notions somewhat questionable--as had MacNamara before him-- not because of epistomological reasons but because of the fact that the data that led to the distinction in the first place did not justify its validity. The renewed interest in the topic has prompted the author to reexamine this issue but with specific attention to the extent to which it is relevant to Spanish-English speaking bilinguals in the Southwest.

In view of the above, the author thought that it would have been a worthwhile project to investigate "semantic compounding" among different groups of bilinguals: bilinguals who have acquired English (1) in settings removed from their native settings; (2) in settings somewhat different from their vernacular environment--such as children who acquire English in school but speak Spanish at home--; (3) in settings where both languages co-exist in a somewhat random fashion. However, the broadness of the objective soon became evident and the author was compelled to limit the topic to dealing only--at least for this

presentation--with speakers living in a single geographic area, i.e. San Antonio, Texas. Some of the speakers investigated in this project might have acquired their two languages in a stable, and others in a fluid bilingual situation but no attempt was made here to keep the two means of acquisition separate from one another.

The objective of the present paper is then twofold: to delve into the more theoretical issue of the kinds of bilingual functioning and to report on the results of an experiment exploratory in nature, in which a number of questionnaires and assignments were given to a random selection of UTSA students, most of them either Anglo-Americans or Mexican-Americans, but also a few other ethnic groups. It is hoped that the results will shed some light, not only on the theoretical issue that is here discussed but also on the bilingual students per se that make up our undergraduate as well as graduate school populations. Finally, some thoughts will be devoted to the implications that the situation found at UTSA may hold for the assessment for an acculturation index of the Southwest Chicano. These issues will be discussed in three sections, i.e. (1) The Compound-Coordinate dimension, (2) Acquisitional and Societal patterns (3) Description and Analysis of the data collected among San Antonio bilinguals. I shall conclude the paper by attempting a tentative evaluation of South Texas bilinguality and biculturality.

(1) The Compound-Coordinate Dimension

The first scholar to suggest that, instead of treating two equivalent words as two separate signs, one might regard them as a single sign was Lev Scerba, who in 1945 had completed an extensive study on Sorbian-German bilingualism. Scerba reported in his study

"Sur la notion de mélange des langues" that "the bilingual Sorbians, have only one language with two modes of expression" (Shaffer, 1974:2); in other words, they possess in Saussurian terms, one set of signifieds for two different signifiers (Weinreich, 1968:9). Weinreich, who credited Ščerba with this distinction, finds it to be a useful one but without actually either affirming nor denying the validity of the notion, rather, he calls for further investigation to determine how realistic and how applicable this distinction actually is. As Shaffer (1974:1) has shown in his paper, it was the shortcoming, not of Weinreich, but of later investigators to take the former's view for an established fact rather than an invitation for further research.

The notions of compound and coordinate systems was investigated again in 1954 when Susan Ervin-Tripp and Charles Osgood studied second language learning and bilingualism. A comparison between the Ščerba-Weinreich view and that of Ervin-Tripp--Osgood shows an interesting difference in emphasis. Ščerba--Weinreich seek to explain the compound system by taking the coordinate dimension for granted, whereas Ervin-Tripp--Osgood adopt the opposite strategy. In effect, the latter (1973:10) argue that

> Perhaps because of dependence on the model provided by second language learning in school situations, many writers seem to have assumed that meanings are constant in second language learning and in bilingualism.

In other words, for Ščerba--Weinreich the coordinate view is the self-explanatory one and it is the compound view that emerges from the Sorbian study. Conversely, for Ervin-Tripp--Osgood the compound view is the basic view and it is the coordinate dimension that requires the investigator's special attention. The change of emphasis

is interesting in that it points to two different kinds of awareness. The earlier investigators are trying to cope with cultural convergence in spite of linguistic divergence, whereas the later ones are suggesting that cultural convergence does not necessarily occur, even though the society may have assumed otherwise.

In Ervin-Tripp--Osgood, moreover, the compound dimension undergoes a more subtle study in that the authors are characterizing the development as (1) typical of learning a foreign language in the school situation and (2) characteristic of bilingualism acquired by a child who grows up in a home where two languages are spoken more or less interchangeably by the same people and in the same situation (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:16). Furthermore, the authors recognize also within the coordinate dimension, two developments, (1) that of the person who has learned for example to speak one language with his parents and the other language in school and at work and (2) that of the second language learner, who relying as little as possible on translation and immersing himself in the living culture of another language community comes to speak a second tongue well. (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:17) It is this latter dimension that the authors describe as "true" bilinguality but the meaning of true, in quotes, is never explained, and this author has some difficulty in sharing their view that this kind of bilingual versatility is any more "true" than the other kind, neither per se nor in the opinion of others.

Wallace Lambert (1972:304) dissatisfied with some of the results that he obtained in experiments dealing with the compound-coordinate dimensionality, which showed "no differences between compounds and coordinates", begins then to search for "a procedure that would present

the bilingual with a conflict wherein both of his languages could be simultaneously brought into play. (Lambert, 1972:305) The Stroop Test developed in 1935 by J. R. Stroop and M.S. Preston (Stroop, 1935:643-61) provides such a strategy and this allows Wallace Lambert and his associates to simplify the definitions of compound and coordinate bilingual arguing that

> compound bilinguals were (defined as) those brought up in a thoroughly bilingual home environment from infancy on, while coordinates were those who had learned their second language at some time after infancy, usually after ten years of age and usually in a setting other than the family.

Macnamara (Alatis, 1970:28-29) addresses himself to this very question and critizes "the man whose lead I (Macnamara) have long followed in the study of bilingualism: for adding, with the proposed simplification of the compound and coordinate systems, somewhat to the confusion which surrounds the distinction between the two. On the other hand, Macnamara looks equally sceptical upon the Ervin-Tripp--Osgood's arguments which, he argues, are based upon the Sapir--Whorf hypothesis of linguistic/cultural relativity for the distinction between the two types of bilinguals. Macnamara's own view in this respect stresses semantic interference and not cultural relativity and capitalizes on what he calls 'denotational content.' His examples from Irish and French show that words may have either a wider (Irish lamh [hand & arm] vs. English hand) or a narrower (English cut vs. French couper [cut & carve]) denotational extension. To the extent that such denotational differences exist between languages, Macnamara agrees with the notion of coordinateness. This view reduces however coordinateness to a limited number of examples of lexico-semantic

divergence that make the usefulness of the distinction somewhat questionable.

Roughly simultaneous with John Macnamara's paper on "Bilingualism and Thought," is Leon A. Jakobovits' study entitled "dimensionality of Compound-Coordinate Bilingualism" in which the latter brings to bear the issue upon 3 factors, i.e., language acquisition context and usage, attitudinal and motivational variables and cross-cultural distinctiveness. His treatment of the cross-cultural perspective lacks deeper insight but the concern for attitudinal and motivational variables is to the point because he emphasizes the fact that the compound-coordinate distinction cannot be considered effectively within the restricted framework of a semanto-lexical approach. The social psychological perspective that was only weakly stressed in Lambert's article--not because of his lack of expertise but as a result of the stated objective of the study in question-- is emphasized in Jakobovits' work where he applies some of Lambert's own findings concerning ethnocentrism and instrumental/integrative motivation. Jakobovits succeeds hereby to make the distinction between the two kinds of bilinguals more psycholinguistically relevant. "High ethnocentrism", says Jakobovits, "coupled with an instrumental orientation are psychological factors which promote compound bilingualism," whereas "coordinateness will be promoted by moderate levels of ethnocentrism and bi-directional tendencies in orientation." On the other hand, the opposite of the highly ethnocentric, instrumentally oriented student would also promote compoundness as he leaves his vernacular culture behind to integrate into the foreign culture (Jakobovits, 1968:40). We are here concerned with a dynamic rather

static statement of the compound-coordinate dimensionality, one that applies to individuals in the process of becoming rather than at the stage of being bilinguals, an emphasis appropriate for the psychologically-oriented but not for the merely linguistically-geared investigator. This differential orientation seems to parallel the development in other areas of language study where the scholarly interest does also abandon the merely linguistic type in favor of a more interdisciplinary type of investigation.

As pointed out earlier, the latest attempt to deal with the topic is a brief unpublished draft by Douglas Shaffer entitled "Is Bilingualism Compound or Coordinate?" Shaffer does not produce any far-reaching evidence to respond to his own query but encourages us to give compoundness and coordinateness a second look in order to determine whether or not the distinction is a useful one and whether actual facts support it, since all earlier research had been unable to offer valid supporting evidence. As a matter of fact, Shaffer reminds us that Haugen had already pointed out in 1973 that

> Weinreich had merely posited a compound-coordinate distinction and called for empirical investigation... yet psycholinguists accepted Weinreich's hypothesis without examining his data closely and even proceeded to develop a rather sharp dichotomy between both types. (Haugen 1973:10)

Therefore, if we accept Haugen's and Shaffer's positions, it becomes difficult for us to assign a given speaker to either one or the other type of bilinguality. To summarize, the literature is far from being in agreement about the usefulness of the distinction and, at best, we have advanced very little from Weinreich's position and must, like a blind man return whence we came to start anew.

Before we leave this section, it may be in order to give a last look at the arguments that some expressed in favor of and others against the compound-coordinate dimensionality. The discussions in Weinreich (1968) and Ervin-Tripp--Osgood (1973) lend reasonable support to the notion under consideration here. Of these scholars, it is primarily the latter who advances a more detailed view with regard to the emphasis that the research on this topic should take and to the situations to which the distinction should apply. The scholars who research the topic later all seem to harbor serious reservations but they never deny completely the usefulness of the concept. To redirect the research over safer grounds, the aforementioned investigators recommend a less Whorfian approach and a more semantic denotational perspective [Macnamara] as well as a more psycholinguistically-geared orientation [Jakobovits]. Recent studies in the Southwest have also attempted to reexamine this issue but in light of regional bilingualism. As a matter of fact several scholars -- and I will not go here into the issue at any depth-- do share the position that the distinction <u>per se</u> is a worthwhile one and that it is indeed realistic to build upon it an edifice of areal investigations Penalosa and Ornstein have both expressed themselves along these lines and I am sharing their views, but only if some new ideas can be incorporated to render the compound-coordinate dimensionality not only psycholinguistically but also sociolinguistically relevant. "The compound-coordinate distinction," says Penalosa (Hernández-Chavez 1975:165)

> is a useful one. Compound bilinguals are those who learned both languages in a bilingual home or neighborhood or one language through the medium of another, hence have fused two meaning systems; coordinate bilinguals, having learned their two languages in different contexts, have somewhat different meanings for corresponding words in the two languages.

Applying this distinction to the Chicano, Peñalosa (Hernández-Chavez, 1975:165-66) speculates that

> the compound bilingual Chicano child might miss some of the subtleties of the English used in his school while the coordinate bilingual might avoid this type of difficulty.

Ornstein (Ewton and Ornstein, 1970:138-39) also supports the distinction and without any reservation although he does not provide any in-depth analysis of the issue.

The fact that no detailed discussion of nor any objection to the notions has recently been offered seems to indicate that the compound-coordinate distinction is indeed a valid one and lends itself to reassess some aspects of South West bilingualism. On the other hand, before fully establishing its usefulness for the Southwestern U.S., the author believes that there are at least two aspects of the compound-coordinate dimensionality that have either not been fully clarified or been omitted altogether: (1) What is actually the extent to which a bilingual belongs to one or the other type? This point is also argued by Weinreich when he warns us not to use these notions as an either-or distinction and suggests that even certain lexical items, when used by the bilingual, reflect compoundness and others, coordinateness. Jakobovits too, is aware of the danger of strict bipolarity and correlates the degree of compoundness or coordinateness with the degree of second language acquisition but makes the latter contingent upon attitudinal factors, such as integrative and instrumental motivation as well as ethnocentrism. I share Jakobovits' concern in this respect but have my doubts as to whether the psycholinguistic perspective alone can solve the problem. This brings me to the

second aspect (2) that needs to be considered, i.e. What relationship, if any, is there between compoundness and coordinateness on one hand and the constitution of the society in which the bilingual operates? I am calling here your attention to some sort of spectrum of bilinguality that extends from total compoundness at one extreme to total coordinateness at the other, somewhat along the lines of the dialect continuum proposed in the sociolectological research of DeCamp (1971) Stewart (1967) and Jacobson (1975). In addition, I wish to correlate at the same time the position that the bilingual occupies in a given social situation on such a spectrum with his degree of acculturation into the dominant society. This would bring Peñalosa's words into a more realistic perspective when he argues that

> there appears to be a general tendency for coordinate bilingualism to shift to compound bilingualism, although formal education can help to keep the two semantic systems distinct if only one language is used at a time (Hernández-Chavez. 1975:166)

The dynamics of bilingual competence can thus be explored, not from the vantage point of the individual alone as Jakobovits has done, but from that of the speech community in which the bilingual finds himself embedded.

(2) Acquisitional and Societal patterns

Three assumptions have been made or at least implied above, i.e. (1) bilinguals may be classified as compound or coordinate bilinguals but even within the same type of bilinguality speakers differ from one another by degree; (2) specific lexical items as they are used by bilingual speakers may also reflect compoundness or coordinateness; and (3) compoundness and coordinateness seem both to correlate with the interactional norms that have been adopted by the bilingual members

of a speech community. The first assumption implies that two coordinate bilinguals may in effect differ greatly from one another but when both are compared to the compound bilingual they do display a number of common features. Second, the compoundness or coordinateness of a word when it is used by a bilingual may have some effect on the degree of compoundness or coordinateness for that matter, of a given speaker but is not a result of the type of bilinguality of the speaker as such. Thirdly, speakers whose behavioral patterns exhibit a high degree of ethnic segregation tend to be coordinate and those whose patterns show acculturation tend to be compound speakers. Let me illustrate these assumptions somewhat further and justify hereby the project that I expect to describe in the final portion of this paper.

The mental images underlying certain lexical items differ to the extent to which speakers have established different associative networks. Here, I am not talking about the semantic differences that Macnamara mentions when he discusses the contrastive pair English hand and Irish lamh (see above) nor about his criticism of Ervin-Tripp and Osgood's view to the effect that their distinction was Whorfian[1]. Rather, I am referring here to the fact that when a lexical item is learned, the learner is dependent upon his immediate environment in order to grasp the meaning of a given word. The first four items in one of the

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[1]The Whorfian viewpoint refers to the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity that sustains that a person's language determines the way he categorizes his universe. This controversial theory was strongly objected to during the last decade and several attempts were made to revise it (J. Fishman, 1970).

questionnaires used in this project are breakfast, christmas, fruit, food (see below). It seems reasonable to assume that to a speaker of English, say, in Detroit, Michigan, a quite different image comes to his mind when he uses--receptively or productively-- these words from the image that imposes itself on a speaker of Spanish, say, in Panama-City[2]. A typical American breakfast is likely to include items such as toast, pancakes, eggs, jam but not plantains ("patacones")[3], steak ("biftec"), turnovers ("empanadas"), fried yucca ("Carimañola")[4]. Hence, the word breakfast is likely to evoke in the former a set of images quite different from those of the latter. Similar contrasting sets may apply to two stereotyped speakers with regard to Christmas, fruit and food, e.g.

| | American stereotype | Panamanian stereotype |
|---|---|---|
| Christmas | tree, lights, winter, landscape | crib, nativity |
| Fruit | apples, peaches, pears, grapes | mangoes, pineapples, bananas |
| Food | hamburgers, steak, fries | tamales, bollos[5], chicken & rice |

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[2]My experience of many years in Panama has prompted me to choose example from Panamanian Spanish or the Panamanian culture. Similar examples could easily be found elsewhere.

[3]Slices of green plantains fried in oil and then flattened; they are served with abundant dashes of salt.

[4]Mash yuca root, breaded and fried in oil.

[5]Kneaded corn dough wrapped in corn husks and steamed.

It is now conceivable that the English-speaking American when he acquires Spanish and thus becomes an English-Spanish bilingual associates one set of terms with the English lexeme and the other set with the Spanish lexeme. By the same token, the Spanish-speaking Panamanian as he acquires English and becomes bilingual is likely to associate the Panamanian images of nacimiento, mangoes and tamales with Navidades, frutas and alimento and the American images of tree, apples and hamburgers with Christmas, fruit and food. We have here two instances of coordinate bilingualism par excellence. On the other hand, a situation may arise (e.g., a Panamanian reared in the Canal Zone) whereby the images undergo semantic compounding as a result of a random alternation between such images such that the following overlap might occur:

| Lexemes | Bicultural convergence |
|---|---|
| Breakfast/Desayuno | toast, steak, turnovers |
| Christmas/Navidades | tree, crib |
| Fruit /Fruta | apples, mangoes |
| Food /Alimento | hamburgers, tamales |

Such an instance of bicultural convergence would be characteristic for the compound bilingual who operates with a single set of "signifieds" but may either turn on the switch that triggers English signifiers or the one that puts into motion the Spanish lexemes.

The consistent occurrence of cases like these may be unusual, not only because of the human factor at play but also because of a potential interrelationship between the lexical item on one hand and the social situation in which that item occurs. It is therefore also conceivable that the American bilingual when invited to a Christmas party at a Panamanian home associates the Panamanian set of images with

The English lexeme and the Panamanian bilingual associates the American set of images when he uses the word "Navidades" in connection with an invitation to an American home. These fluctuations that are brought about by the social situation in which, or with respect to which, a given lexical item may be used must also be considered when the index of the compound-coordinate dimensionality of an individual is to be assessed.

Finally, the likelihood for a person to qualify as one who positions himself/herself on the compound end or on the coordinate end of the continuum depends to no small degree upon the nature of the bilingual behavior of the group in which he/she operates. The group behaviors of bilinguals in their most extreme form may be two. The behavior of group A may be found to be diglossic, that is , the use of the two languages is so distributed that each speaker of the community under study can determine the appropriateness of one or the other in a given situation. Joshua Fishman and his associates have discussed this kind of mutual consensus of the speakers and referred to the correlation between language and social institution as <u>domain</u>. The presence of domains of this sort correlates closely with coordinateness, since the speaker is able to control the separation of the two languages by restricting the use of one to certain domains and that of the other to others. When this occurs, it is likely for the bilingual to operate in agreement with certain underlying mental images when he/she functions within the domains that require his vernacular language and, in agreement with others within the domains that trigger the use of the second language. The behavior of group B, conversely, may be one of random bilingualism. There is no consensus as to when one

language is appropriate and when the other. Both languages occur in the same situation, and language mixture is frequent. Fishman has shown that such a situation is prone to lead to the loss of the non-dominant language. Compound bilinguals are most likely to fit into the behavioral pattern that I have just described, since the system that operates with a simple set of semantemes but two different sets of lexemes lends itself most effectively to the randomness of language choice and the mixing of codes. If we now consider the two groups, A and B, from the vantage point of culture intergration, we find group B highly acculturated to the dominant society with little concern for the fact that whichever language its members use, they exhibit a unique system in which the sounds, the grammar and the meaning have coalesced to constitute a single but broader total inventory of linguistic features. Group A is less acculturated, or perhaps not acculturated at all, despite their ability to function well in their second environment. Lambert has referred facetiously to bilinguals of the kind as "linguistic spies" and Jakobovits has called them, "linguistic schizophrenics" because of their ability to function equally well in the two. To conclude, it seems reasonable to assume that, when we compare the two types of bilinguals, that have been identified in the professional literature, to the societies of which these bilinguals are members, there is a direct correlation between

(1) compound bilinguals- non-diglossic societies-acculturation, and

(2) coordinate bilinguals- diglossic societies-cultural divergence.

To determine the extent to which Mexican-Americans may be considered coordinate or compound bilinguals, this investigator has administered a series of exploratory instruments or tests to a number of university

students enrolled in the divisions of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies. Foreign Languages and Education at the University of Texas at San Antonio. The design of the project has been limited to two aspects, (1) The identification of the mental images that underlie a set of words which lend themselves to differential treatments depending on which culture group uses them, (2) The occurrence of semantic compounding as evidenced in the use of deceptive or false cognates. Although Anglo and other Americans have responded to the questionnaires, they have merely served as control groups and the emphasis has been on the Mexican-American in the expectation that some progress could be made to explore which his place on the compound-coordinate continuum is and also what his degree of acculturation is. The two aspects here examined obviously fall short of providing the total picture of the Mexican-American minority and more research should be undertaken to also include individuals outside the college population. This project, therefore represents only a beginning, and exploratory at that, in the field of semantic testing.

3. Description and Analysis of the Data

Before actually undertaking the description of the experiment, the author wishes to stress, once more, that the administration of the instruments and therefore also the results which these have produced are only exploratory in nature. A more rigorous procedure of selecting the informants as well as of designing the instruments shall be contemplated in the future. Obviously, some funding must be ensured to allow for a broader and a more systematic coverage. Despite its limitations, the experiment has shown that (1) the answers sought are worth investigating and (2) the results obtained show a trend of development whose know-

ledge could be crucial to assess the degree of compoundness and acculturation of the Chicano and may serve the purpose of recommending strategies to determine and/or suggest the type of culture and language planning that would hold a promise for the Southwest.

Subjects

I approached several of my colleagues at the University of Texas at San Antonio to familiarize them with the kind of information that I needed and asked them to administer a set of four questionnaires and/or tests to a small number of their own students. Professors of the divisions of Bicultural-Bilingual Studies, Education and Foreign Languages assisted me in this task and, at the same time, I also administered these instruments to my own students. The students completed, depending upon the instrument that was administered, between 50 and 70 of each of the questionnaires. These informants, who had been chosen at random, were upper division undergraduates or graduate students seeking a Master of Arts degree. To identify their ethnic and socio-economic background, their age and their sex, I requested them to supply me with the necessary demographic information. As for the ethnic background of the subjects, very few fell into a category other than Anglo-American or Mexican-American and I was able to assign them to one single group labeled "others". Sex was well balanced as an identical number of males and females responded to the questionnaires. The socio-economic ratio was inclined toward the more affluent and over 62% of the informants indicated that they earned $10,000 per year or more. This was no surprise because more graduate than undergraduate students answered the questionnaires due to the fact that UTSA has, at the present time, a stronger graduate than undergraduate population. Finally, 45% of the subjects were 25

years old, 19% were 20 years old, 13% were 30 years old and 23% were 35 or over, all together yielding an average of approximately 26 years.

Instruments

I designed four instruments: (1) to identify the mental images that underlie certain lexemes--those that come most readily to the mind of the speaker--and (2) to investigate the extent to which the semantemes of deceptive cognates show instances of semantic compounding in favor of English rather than Spanish denotations. In the first one of the instruments, I listed 20 words with three choices for each and instructed the subjects to encircle or underline the choice that they would think of first. Although the instrument was not entirely free of ambiguities-- I am presently in the process of developing a new version of the questionnaire-- it did clearly suggest that the Anglo-American favored certain responses and the Mexican-American others. A choice of all the items characteristic for one or the other group was not expected, since 100% of predictability would have suggested that ethnic stereotypes are real; rather, it was expected that subjects would vary to the extent that they did or did not approach the stereotype. The responses would then allow the investigator to distribute the informants along a continuum of ethnic typicality.

The second instrument administered was a questionnaire containing 79 statements, of which 35 were in English and 44 in Spanish. Each such statement included a choice of two expressions of which one lent itself to being selected because of its similarity to, but not identity with a word in the other language, e.g.,

#4 The (ANCIENT/OLD) Romans were outstanding lawmakers.

#40 Este/Esta (GROSERIA/ABARROTE) se vende en los supermercados.

Subjects were tested here whether, in spite of the similarity between ancient and anciano or groseria and grocery, they would make the appropriate choice.

The third and fourth instruments were translation exercises; the former, a Spanish text consisting of seven sentences to be translated into English; the latter, an English text of equal length to be translated to Spanish. Both translation exercises contained deceptive cognates in order to test the subjects whether, because of the similarity of words like soportar and support or ignorar and ignore, they would actually suggest translations as, e.g.,

She does not support her parents (Ella no soporta a sus parientes)

El ignoró la pregunta que el maestro del colegio le habia hecho
(He ignored the question that the college teacher had asked him)

My assumption here was that the use of the wrong word would show semantic compounding rather than other-language interference to the extent that the verb soportar in Spanish had actually acquired for the speaker the meaning of support and the verb ignorar would show the same kind of semantic convergence with ignore.

Three of the instruments were based on English-Spanish deceptive cognates that the graduate student Hiram Duffer had researched and listed in a paper written for Dr. Charpenel. I am grateful to the latter for letting me see his student's work. Although three of the questionnaires were based on these word lists, there was actually no duplication because Instrument 2 tested receptive and instruments 3 and 4 productive competence. Instruments 3 and 4, furthermore, differed in that the former tested semantic compounding when informants shifted from Spanish to English and the latter tested the reverse.

Results

The results of administering the questionnaire designed to measure the individual's proximity to his own ethnic stereotype revealed the following (cf. Figure 1):

(1) Although none of the respondents reached his own stereotype, Anglo-Americans approximated it far more than did Mexican-Americans;

(2) The highest concentration of Anglo-Americans was found at the 80% mark of the stereotype, whereas the highest concentration of Mexican-Americans was found at the 45% mark;

(3) Among Anglo-Americans there was only one single peak of concentration that was surprisingly steep and reasonably high; in contrast, Mexican-Americans displayed two lower peaks, one at the 30% and the other at the 45%-50% mark;

(4) Anglo-Americans that found themselves between the 40% and the 65% mark overlapped with Mexican-Americans at that range but only few Anglo informants were found to be the same as the bulk of Mexican-Americans.

The results of the questionnaire that sought to measure the bilingual's receptive competence regarding his ability to keep two sets of semantemes separate from one another are illustrated on tables 1 and 2. Table 1 contains the sets of items that reflect the most prominent "wrong" responses found among the first 35 sentences of the questionnaire. The percentages of wrong responses are entered in the corresponding column in decreasing order but only item 1 represents an unusually high percentage of error. The paucity of mistaken items when the pairs are given in English suggests that the knowledge of Spanish hardly impairs the choice of the appropriate item. However, when the pairs are given in Spanish, the number of errors

increases remarkably and 13 out of the 31 wrong items show that half or more of the subjects made these errors. The responses showing errors have also been listed here in decreasing order. The decrease is gradual and ranges from an 85.29% of informants choosing renta over alquiler to a 5.88% of informants preferring procuró over consiguió.

The two translation exercises show a range from 57.14% to 0% in the English-Spanish translation and one that goes from 78.05% to 4.88% in the Spanish-English translation. These exercises have shown how difficult it is for Mexican-American bilinguals to translate, especially from English to Spanish. The quality of the translation has not been considered, however, but only the fact whether the cognate is or is not used in the other language with the meaning of the source language. In both exercises, all respondents are deviating from the standard usage in at least some items and it is worth noting that a much higher percentage of semantic conpounding occurs when the subject goes from Spanish to English. Finally, where the same items occur in the two tables, the items show different positions on the tables depending upon whether the goal language is English or Spanish.

Discussion

The variation that I observed in the choice of underlying images seems to indicate that the average Mexican-American enrolled at UTSA has adopted many of the cultural values that may be expected from the typical Anglo-American. Toast rather than tortilla comes to his mind when he hears or uses the word "breakfast." Not posadas but carols or tree suggest "Christmas" to him. Only rarely does he think in terms of the extended family and the curandero and he does not associate a

chaperona with a "date." He thinks in terms of "nap", not in connection with the traditional siesta but with a picnic or with old age. He is friendly to "police officers" and considers them public servants and "elections" have become for him a civic duty and does not suggest to him deception or disorderly conduct.

The earlier discussion of Figure 1 had already shown that what we might have expected to be the underlying images for Mexican-Americans did not fully obtain; in other words, Mexican-Americans find themselves caught in the middle between the Anglo and the Chicano stereotypes. The means that resulted from the two sets of questionnaires corroborated this fact: Mexican-Americans only achieved 39.7% of the Chicano stereotype, whereas Anglo-Americans achieved 75.7% of their stereotype. If we express the Chicano's percentage in terms of the Anglo stereotype, we arrive at a figure (60.3%) that is only 15.4% removed from the Anglo mean. More studies of this sort should be attempted to verify this tentative finding but, if it were confirmed, this would imply that educated Mexican-Americans are not as much apart from the dominant culture as we might have suspected. Furthermore, it has been interesting to note that one of the respondents, who identified himself as a Mexican national, reached a 75% of his ethnic stereotype which almost duplicates the 75.7% of the Anglo-American mean. Non-acculturated Mexicans-- supposing that this figure is realistic and will be confirmed in a larger sample-- could then be believed to be as true to their Latin-American values as Anglos are to Anglo-American ones.. The Chicano mean of 39.7%, accordingly, would place Mexican-Americans at approximately 35% from the Mexican mean, whereas it is only 15% away from the Anglo mean. Within this line of reasoning, the Chicano is far closer, actually 2/3 closer, to Anglo values than he is to Mexican values. On the other hand, we must

remember that the results described here have been gathered from upper division and graduate students where a high degree of acculturation is not unusual. Freshmen and sophomores, and to a larger degree pre-college students and individuals with little or no education, might score quite differently in this respect. Future research would have to reveal information of this nature.

The size of Table One raises an interesting point. There were few instances where bilinguals engaged in semantic compounding under the impact of Spanish semantemes; unfamiliarity with words like hearing, goblets and accomodate may have accounted for the selection of wrong answers there by some informants. However the high percentage of respondents (82.35%) who claimed audience over hearing is difficult to explain. Furthermore, subtleties, such as, the stronger pejorative meaning of disgust as compared to disgusto may just have been too difficult to capture in a questionnaire of this sort.

Table 2 is significant in that it shows the extent of semantic compounding when Spanish is used. Considering that some bilinguals failed to separate the meanings of 31 out of 44 choice items, this means that their English semantemes invaded approximately 75% of the Spanish lexemes of the questionnaire. As a matter of fact, regardless of whether English or Spanish was used, one single set of signifieds (The English signifieds) was adopted by almost half of the speakers tested. Unless we agree upon the fact that this is an instance of semantic compounding, it is impossible to explain why the tested population would use overwhelmingly renta, figura, propia, miserable, lectura, lanzó, poema, ingeniero, ocurrencia when they should have used

alquiler, cifra, apropiada, infeliz, conferencia, atraveso con lanza, poesia, maquinista, suceso. The distinction between poesia and poema, again, may be too subtle, since it involves some knowledge regarding poetic forms as poesia is a short piece of poetry, whereas poema, contrary to poem, a much longer one. Finally, it is usally argued that the vernacular language imposes itself in the home and neighborhood domain and yet the semantemes of items 1,2,3,4,9,10,11 have fallen together with the English ones in favor of the latter. In general, it is noted that no specific pattern emerges when one examines the 31 items on this Table in light of the domains suggested by sociolinguistic researchers.

The translation exercises (cf.Tables 3 and 4) permit us to make another interesting generalization. Whether the bilingual uses English or Spanish, it is always the English semanteme that substitutes for the Spanish one. Thus, translating from English to Spanish, the respondents rendered patron, as patron, genial as genial, argument as argumento with no concern for the deceptiveness of these cognates. Translating from Spanish to English they used bachelor for bachiller, college for colegio, gracious for gracioso entirely disregarding the fact that bachiller is in Mexico a student who has graduated from the secondary school ("preparatoria"), colegio is not a college and gracioso has a different meaning from gracious. The Spanish words used in the translation test are fairly common lexemes, hence, the errors can not be construed as unfamiliarity with the Spanish word but must be understood as the convergence of meaning between Spanish and English in favor of the latter.

Conclusion

The administration and interpretation of these exploratory instruments seem to lead to the conclusion that the Mexican-American bilingual, although he speaks the two languages and shares in the two cultures, is maintaining a position on the Spanish/English language/culture continuum that approximates far more that of the typical Anglo than of the typical Mexican. Rather than knowing neither language well or living between two cultures-- as this has sometimes been suggested-- the Mexican-American of our study has shown to possess a type of linguistic behavior that somewhat reminds us of the one described in Ščerba's classical study (see above). As a matter of fact, the Mexican-American seems to share together with other educated Chicanos, a cultural identity that is not too different from that of members of the dominant class. This cultural-linguistic convergence has revealed itself in our study in the sharing of the same mental images for a selected number of lexical items and in the semantic compounding of words which, because of their overt similarity, facilitate this kind of coalescence. Returning now to the compound-coordinate distinction discussed earlier, we are inclined to argue that the majority of Chicanos at UTSA tend to be compound rather than coordinate bilinguals (and biculturals) in view of the fact that they often share, just like the Sorbians, one set of signifieds with two differents sets of signifiers. More specifically, the average Chicano of our study, whether he says "I am supporting my parents" or "estoy soportando a mis parientes," intends to convey the same meaning. Some investigators have referred to such a development as interference from English but I am suggesting here that it is an instance of

semantic compounding or convergence. From a merely historical viewpoint it is interference, but not from a descriptive one that interests us here. The bilingual in a bicultural setting like the one in South Texas differs greatly from a monolingual who is learning a second language with the intent to become a bilingual. The latter is under the pressure of his first language, while the former has reached a situation where he no longer attempts to approximate any further the phonological or grammatical behavior of those who learned English natively. Quite to the contrary, he has adopted an attitude where he favors the convergence of the two systems.

It has been the objective of the present study to discuss some issues concerning the coordinate-compound dimension and to investigate the linguistic behavior of some San Antonio college students in order to explore the extent of their compoundness or coordinateness. The results of this exploratory experiment has suggested that (1) the UTSA Chicano falls, by and large, into the category of compound bilinguals, (2) that his compoundness is a result of a fairly high degree of acculturation into the dominant society and (3) that the diglossic behavior of the older generation is in the process of changing into a more random-bilingual one in the younger generation. Whether this assessment is confirmed in a broader sample remains to be seen. There is much need for further research, to validate the data compiled in this study and to expand the investigation to also include the less educated Chicano in urban as well as rural settings. If confirmed, we may wish to utilize this information in the planning of future educational programs for the South Texas Chicano.

TABLE 1

| Item | Lexemic Pair | Spanish Interference Source | Responses Right(%) | Wrong(%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Hearing-Audience | Audiencia | 17.65 | 82.35 |
| 2 | Annoyance-disgust | Disgusto | 64.71 | 35.29 |
| 3 | Student-Alumnus | Alumno | 73.53 | 26.47 |
| 4 | Goblets-Cups | Copas | 73.53 | 26.47 |
| 5 | Pay attention-Attend | Atender | 76.47 | 23.53 |
| 6 | Arrange properly-Accommodate | Acomodar | 76.47 | 17.65 |
| 7 | Different-Distinct | Distinto | 85.29 | 14.71 |

TABLE 2

| Item | Lexemic Pair | English Interference Source | Responses Right(%) | Wrong(%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Alquiler-Renta | Rent | 11.76 | 85.29 |
| 2 | Cifra-Figura | Figure | 26.47 | 73.53 |
| 3 | Apropiada-Propia | Proper | 29.41 | 70.89 |
| 4 | Infeliz-Miserable | Miserable | 26.47 | 70.59 |
| 5 | Conferencia-Lectura | Lecture | 23.53 | 70.59 |
| 6 | Atravesó con lanza-Lanzó | Lanced | 35.29 | 64.71 |
| 7 | Poesia-Poema | Poem | 32.35 | 64.71 |
| 8 | Maquinista-Ingeniero | Engineer | 38.24 | 61.76 |
| 9 | Suceso-Ocurrencia | Occurrence | 32.35 | 61.76 |
| 10 | Bondadoso-Gracioso | Gracious | 47.06 | 52.94 |
| 11 | Distraido-Preocupado | Preoccupied | 47.06 | 52.94 |
| 12 | Fingió-Pretendió | Pretended | 47.06 | 50.00 |
| 13 | Abarrote- Grosería | Grocery | 50.00 | 50.00 |
| 14 | Sensato-Sensible | Sensible | 44.12 | 47.06 |
| 15 | Rudo-Grosero | Rude | 55.00 | 44.12 |

TABLE 2(continued)

| Item | Lexemic Pair | English Interference Source | Responses Right(%) | Wrong(%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | Malareputación-Notoria | Notorious | 59.88 | 44.12 |
| 17 | Presentar-Introducir | Introduce | 61.76 | 38.24 |
| 18 | Borrado-Intoxicado | Intoxicated | 64.71 | 35.29 |
| 19 | Hacer caso omiso-Ignorar | Ignore | 61.76 | 32.35 |
| 20 | Clientes-Patrones | Patrons | 67.65 | 32.35 |
| 21 | Recien Nacidos-Infantes | Infants | 70.59 | 29.41 |
| 22 | Personajes-Caracteres | Characters | 67.65 | 26.47 |
| 23 | Special-Particular | Particular | 70.59 | 26.47 |
| 24 | Publicaciones-Periodicos | Periodicals | 76.47 | 23.53 |
| 25 | Sostener-Soportar | Support | 76.47 | 20.59 |
| 26 | Tener exito-Suceder | Succeed | 82.35 | 14.71 |
| 27 | Doy cuenta-Realizo | Realize | 82.35 | 14.71 |
| 28 | Majestuoso-Grande | Grand | 82.35 | 14.71 |
| 29 | Cantina-Salon | Saloon | 85.29 | 11.76 |
| 30 | Florero-Vaso | Vase | 85.29 | 8.82 |
| 31 | Consiguió-Procuró | Procured | 71.22 | 5.88 |

Note: Where the sum of right and wrong responses does not yield 100%, respondents have left unanswered a particular item. The ordering of items reflects the gradual decrease of wrong responses.

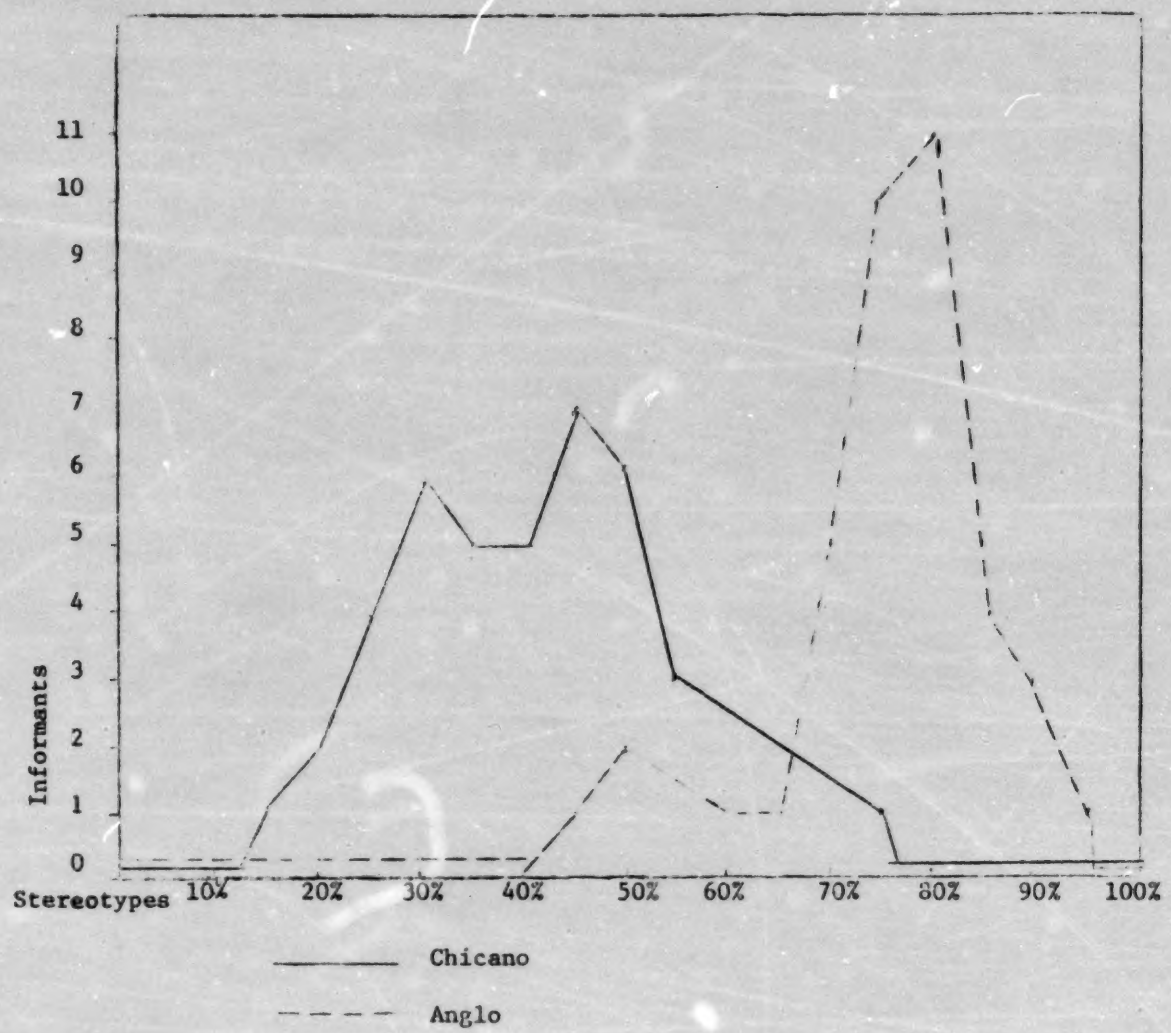
TABLE 3

| Item | Deceptive Cognates | Semantic Convergence (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Patron : Patron | 57.14 |
| 2 | Genial : Genial | 47.62 |
| 3 | Argument : Argumento | 47.62 |
| + 4 | Ignored : Ignoró | 42.86 |
| 5 | Ancient : Anciano | 38.10 |
| 6 | Lecture: Lectura | 38.10 |
| 7 | College : Colegio | 38.10 |
| 8 | Assists : Asiste | 33.34 |
| 9 | Introduced : Introdujo | 33.34 |
| 10 | Villain : Villano | 28.57 |
| 11 | Notorious : Notorio | 23.81 |
| 12 | Actual : Actual | 23.81 |
| 13 | Realize : Realizo | 19.05 |
| 14 | Saloon : Salon | 19.05 |
| 15 | Druggist : Droguero | 14.29 |
| 16 | Parents : Parientes | 4.76 |
| 17 | Audience : Audiencia | 4.76 |
| 18 | Question : Cuestion | 0 |

TABLE 4

| Item | Deceptive Cognates | Semantic Convergence (%) |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bachiller : Bachelor | 78.05 |
| 2 | Colegio : College | 73.17 |
| 3 | Gracioso : Gracious | 65.85 |
| 4 | Parientes : Parents | 57.09 |
| 5 | Actualmente : Actually | 53.66 |
| 6 | Librería : Library | 48.78 |
| 7 | Soporta : Supports | 46.34 |
| 8 | Escolar : Scholar | 39.03 |
| 9 | Asiste : Assists | 31.71 |
| 10 | Lujuria : Luxury | 29.27 |
| 11 | Disgustó : Disgusted | 24.39 |
| 12 | Audiencia : Audience | 21.95 |
| 13 | Presentaron : Presented | 4.88 |

FIGURE I


11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Informants
Stereotypes
10%
20%
30%
40%
50%
60%
70%
80%
90%
100%
Chicano
Anglo

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